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a world of law and order. Given the technological advances of the half century since World War I, it cannot be assumed that a liberal margin of possibility for human survival still exists, and that after another war between major powers mankind would have "yet one more chance." Man has begun too late to change into a rational political being. The next war will probably be the last.

There are of course elements of hope. On January 2, 1966, the New York Times, in a special dispatch filed in Texas, reported what was clearly an authorized reflection of President Johnson's contemporary view: "If man is not prepared to regard all his fellows as brothers, Mr. Johnson thinks, he must for his own safety come to regard them at least as fellow citizens of a world community that modern weapons and communications have made smaller than individual nations used to be just a short while ago."

Two years earlier China had shown some signs of acting in line with that general concept. In accepting French recognition and simultaneously announcing the "doctrine of the intermediate zone" in January 1964, Peking evidenced a willingness to try at least limited "peaceful coexistence" with countries other than the emerging nations. China has so far won only minor economic and political benefits with that policy, but that strategic shift could not in any event have been expected to bring solutions for China's crucial problems, and in the net there were gains, not losses.

There is, then, a possibility of change in Peking's attitudes under the sharp goad of necessity. China's present leaders have not been able to realize their greater dreams and have been unable to make headway toward a remodeling of the world in the Maoist pattern. But these men confront the problem of retaining power, and are practical. Frustrated in its larger ambitions, Mao Tse-tung's generation may prove ready to adjust its policies to save what it has; and the future generation of Chinese leaders, as Mao himself greatly fears, may prove distinctly less revolutionary, may even be "revisionist," in its approach to the many problems that face the nation.

A China heavily involved in the manifold tasks of economic reconstruction would patently be less inclined toward adventurist attempts to "liberate" the rest of the world from a "bondage" that hardly affects China—especially if it were allotted a place of acknowledged consequence in that world.

It is in this that China may get the larger gain from shifting to the doctrine of the intermediate zone. It appears probable that, barring unforeseen developments, Peking's delegation will be voted into China's place by the U.N. General Assembly next fall. That event would give Peking the gratifying political "victory" of having vanquished, by democratic process, Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa and Chiang's protector power, the United States, and of having won its "rightful" place in the parliament of man. This would reduce China's resentments without great loss of substance to the United States. In addition, China in the United Nations as a full-fledged member, instead of outside in outlaw status, would be entitled to the protection of the community and its laws.

That broad guarantee, including the implicit American policy of self-restraint toward a fellow U.N. member, could gradually come to take the place of the missing firm Soviet guarantee of China's safety. China might consequently be increasingly inclined to view its role in the world community in a new light and contribute generously to the work of strengthening the machinery of law and order that offered it protection. In the end, the United States and China, achieving a greater degree of mutual understanding than exists at present, might become reconciled to peaceful coexistence with each other.

Much depends, it is clear, on the course of impending events in southeast Asia. Without peace, there can be no unity of mankind; without China's participation, there can be no peace. If China is not brought soon into the organized world community, that community will probably cease to exist.

#### WARSAW GHETTO DAY: A COMMEMORATION

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, 23 years have passed since the days of the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto. There in the tragic spring of 1943, the still surviving members of the Jewish population of Warsaw made a desperate last-ditch stand against the forces of death. The immediate effect was an explosion of Nazi violence and insanity unparalleled in modern history, but the final result can only be one more affirmation of the determination of an indomitable people to survive prejudice and cruelty.

Before the Second World War, the Jewish population of Poland numbered over 3 million and of these 330,000 lived in Warsaw. When the Nazi troops entered Warsaw in 1939, the first decree of the occupation forces was to declare all Jews subject to forced labor. But this was only the beginning. Before long the Jews were forbidden to work in key industries, to leave the city limits, to buy or sell to "Aryans," or even to bake bread.

Organized religious activities were soon abolished. The Jews were stripped of any of the rights of other citizens. A Jewish police officer could be executed for apprehending an "Aryan" criminal. The sacred Star of David became an emblem of one's persecuted status.

The final horror of this nightmare was yet to come. On the 16th of October 1940 a ghetto was established by the Nazi governor of Warsaw. A 100-square-block area was set aside in a corner of Warsaw. Non-Jewish Poles were moved out and the Jewish population from Warsaw and the surrounding areas of Poland was moved into the ghetto; 500,000 people, one-third of the population of Warsaw, was squeezed into an area encompassing one-twentieth of the city. Living conditions soon became desperate. Food was so scarce that half of the population died of starvation within just 2 years.

But this attrition rate was not enough for the gruesome efficiency of the Nazis. A "final solution" was begun in the summer of 1942. The Jews were told that they would have to be "resettled in the East." This action, of course, was the beginning of the systematic mass extermination of the Jewish population of Poland. A quota was issued by the Nazi authorities; some volunteers were produced and the rest were forcibly dragged to collection points and herded onto closed freight cars to the concentration camps at Auschwitz and Treblinka where they would meet their death.

Gravely weakened by starvation and without weapons, the Jews in the ghetto

tyranny of the Nazis. Nevertheless, a secret resistance organization, the ZOB, was formed in the summer of 1942 by the Zionist youth organizations. Their most dreaded murderers were assassinated, and the Nazis responded viciously.

Eventually there were only 40,000 Jews left in the ghetto; the rest were dead. When the final deportations were begun in January of 1943, the Germans suddenly encountered strong resistance. Armed only with pistols, a few hand grenades, and Molotov cocktails, the resisters inflicted heavy casualties on the Germans and forced a temporary retreat.

The Nazis found an excuse for a direct assault on the ghetto when a call for workers to be sent to the Trawniki concentration camp was answered by only 200 Jews. On April 19, 1945, at 2:15 in the morning the attack began. The first battle raged for 12 hours until the Germans were finally repulsed. The Germans then brought reinforcements. The next attack was supported by tanks and air strikes, but still the poorly equipped and inexperienced resisters fought on—on to the death. Finally, on May 16, the battle came to an end. In a last symbolic act, the Nazis dynamited the great Jewish synagogue. There was no longer a Warsaw ghetto; the Jewish district and its population in Warsaw had been destroyed.

Nevertheless, the resistance never ended until the Nazis had finally been defeated. Some made their way to fight with the Allies, others continued underground operations against the Nazis as late as the fall of 1943.

Mr. Speaker, the story of the Nazi nightmare in Warsaw represents one of the most shocking tragedies in the history of modern man. But the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto also represents a promise of man's determination to resist to the end, to fight for his survival against the most staggering—even hopeless—odds. Above all, it is a testimony to the courage and determination of the Jewish people.

#### UN NATION'S PRESS CLOUDED WITH CHARGES OF PLAYING POLITICS WITH OUR ARMED FORCES IN VIETNAM

(Mr. MURPHY of New York asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Nation's press is clouded today with charges by the minority party that the United States is playing politics with our Armed Forces in Vietnam. Further, that U.S. policy with respect to the present government of South Vietnam is not clear, and, of course, the ever-present charge that all items of logistics and Vietnamese operations are not proceeding with the efficiency of training exercises. These charges most certainly must confuse some Americans who rely upon the press, radio, and television, for their knowledge of national and international events.

It is my opinion that this administration has been conducting the southeast Asia geopolitics-military operation in a very effective manner. The Pres-